

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 6785

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING, AUGUST 9, 1977 (SALT TWO - 1329)

1. AT AUGUST 9 PLENARY, (WITH SENATOR GLENN PRESENT)
SEMENOV FIRST REPEATED PREVIOUS ARGUMENTS ON NON-CIRCUMVEN-
TION/NON-TRANSFER AND DESCRIBED ISSUES AS "CRUCIAL AND
FUNDAMENTAL," SAYING HE "COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF AN
AGREEMENT" WITHOUT SUCH PROVISIONS. IN SECOND STATEMENT
ON MOBILE ICBMS, SEMENOV CRITICIZED ABSENCE OF BAN ON
TESTING IN US PROPOSAL AS PRESERVING BASIS FOR FURTHER
ARMS RACE.

2. IN CONTEXT OF SOVIET STATEMENT ON MOBILE ICBMS, I
CALLED ATTENTION TO FAILURE OF SOVIETS TO ADDRESS
BASIC US CONCERN REGARDING FIXED ICBM VULNERABILITY.

3. I MADE STATEMENT ON RECENT US AND SOVIET PROPOSALS
FOR REDUCTIONS EMPHASIZING THAT STRATEGIC STABILITY
CAN BE MAINTAINED AT LOWER LEVELS OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS. I CONTRASTED SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR
REDUCTION OF 150 BEGINNING IN 1981 WITH US PROPOSAL WHICH IS
OF GREATER MAGNITUDE, IS MORE TIMELY AND DEALS WITH BOTH
OVERALL AND MIRV AGGREGATES.

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4. REGARDING MOBILES, SEMENOV COUNTERED THAT BASIC AGREEMENT
SHOULD NOT PREDETERMINE POST-PROTOCOL RESULT. IN
PREPARED REBUTTAL TO MY PLENARY STATEMENT, HE CITED
"OTHER FACTORS" IN "ENTIRE STRATEGIC SITUATIONS" WHICH
MUST BE EVALUATED PRIOR TO MOVING AHEAD ON REDUCTIONS.
HE ARGUED SOVIET COMMITMENT TO REDUCTIONS IN

CONTEXT OF ARTICLE XV.

5. I RESPONDED BY REPEATING RATIONALE FOR REDUCTIONS AND COMPARED REDUCTIONS PACE UNDER US AND SOVIET PROPOSALS, ASKING, "WHY WAIT?" I OFFERED OPINION THAT DELY IN REDUCTIONS TO 1982 SEEMED EXCESSIVE IF SIDES WERE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN REDUCTIONS. I QUESTIONED SEMENOV'S REFERENCE TO "OTHER FACTORS", STATING THAT US WOULD BE INTERESTED IN UNDERLYING ANALYSIS.

6. IN POST-PLenary BILATRAL, I POINTED OUT THAT MOBILE ICBM OPTION SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN. SEMENOV SAID THAT ARTICLE II.1 WAS "UNIVERSAL AND ALL ENCOMPASSING" IMPLYING THAT MOBILES WOULD BE PERMITTED AND COUNTED UNDER CURRENT JDT, EVEN WITOUT SPECIFIC REFERENCES. IN THIS AND OTHER BILATERALS, SOVIETS IMPLIED THAT SOVIET PROTOCOL PROPOSAL FOR BANNING MOBILE ICBM TESTING INCLUDED ONLY FULL SYSTEM FLIGHT TESTS.

7. IN GLENN-ROWNY/SHCHUKIN-BELETSKIY DISCUSSION, GLENN EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION TO RATIFICATION. DURING FOLLOWING DISCUSSION IN WHICH SOVIETS DEFENDED SOLE RELIANCE ON UNDEFINED "NTM" IN VERIFICATION, SHCHUKIN STATED THAT "TELEMETRY INTERCEPTION IS NOT NTM."

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8. IN KLOSSON/KARPOV BILATERAL, KLOSSON PRESSED KARPOV ON SPECIFICS OF HOW SOVIETS PROPOSED TO REMOVE REFERENCES TO MOBILES CURRENTLY IN JDT. SOME CONFUSION ON PART OF KARPOV SUGGESTED SOVIETS HAVE NOT STUDIED ISSUE IN DETAIL.

9. IN WHITMAN/PAVLICHENKO BILATERAL, PAVLICHENKO PROVIDED HIS EXPLANATION OF "OTHER FACTORS" MENTIONED BY SEMENOV. FURTHER REDUCTIONS MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY EQUALITY IN NUMBERS OF WARHEADS, LIMITATIONS ON ACCURACY, AND FBS SOLUTION. EARLE

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